



Daily Report

West Europe

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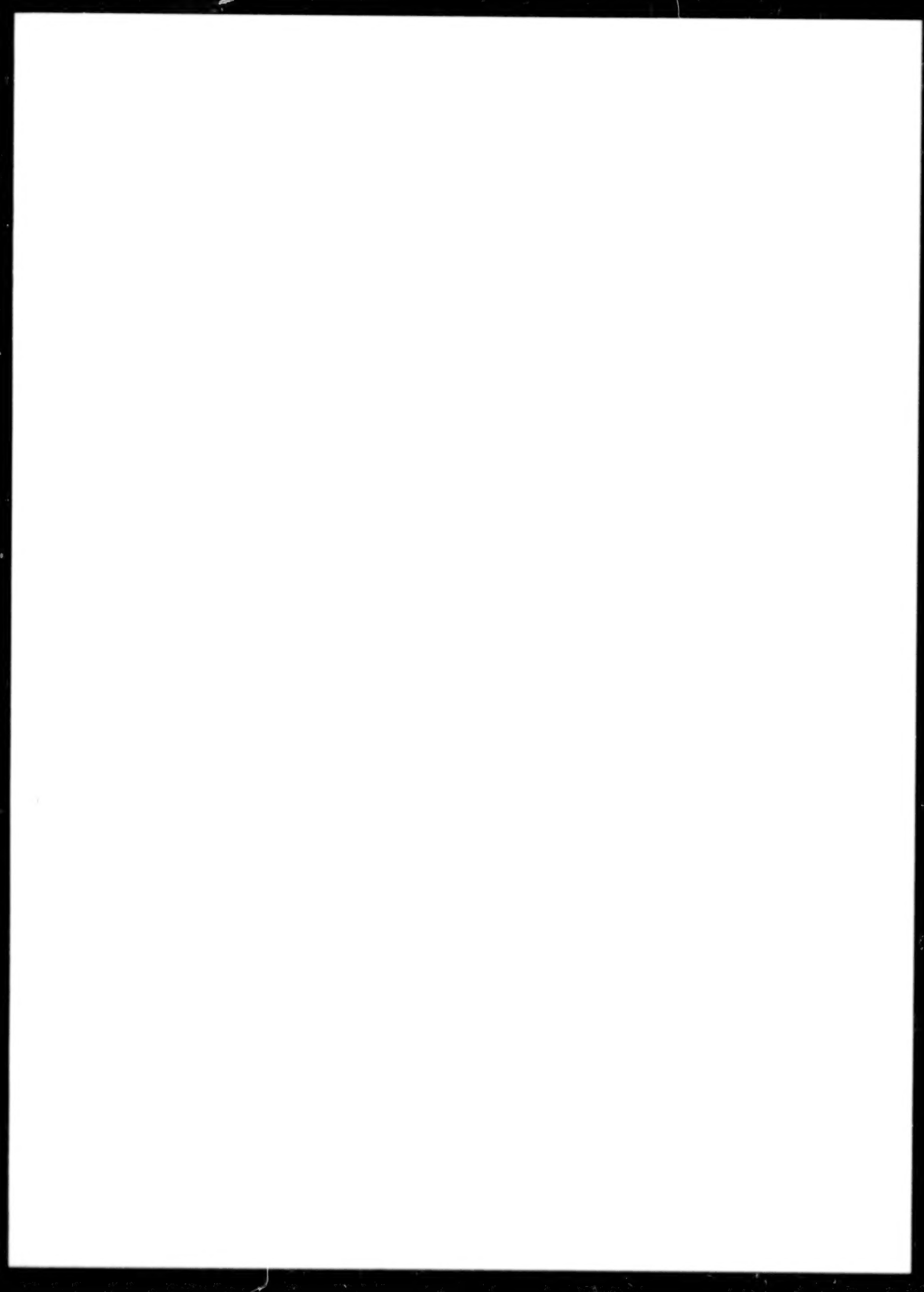
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NATO: Solana Interviewed on Bosnia Mission

LD0902192496 London BBC World Service
in English 1300 GMT 9 Feb 96

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana by Judy Swallow in London on 9 February; from the "News Hour" program — recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Swallow] As it happens, the new Secretary General of NATO, Javier Solana, stepped into the job just as IFOR [Implementation Force] was deploying in Bosnia. This was, he proclaimed at the time, a defining moment in NATO's history. Well, Mr. Solana is in London at the moment. When I spoke to him earlier today, he told me he still believes that the Bosnia operation is the most important development for NATO since the end of the Cold War. But I asked him how concerned he was about the difficulties that operation is now facing?

[Solana] Well I'm concerned about the events of the last few days, but I do think that they will be clarified in the coming hours. I am going to Mostar on Monday [12 February] to give support to the troops and to give support also to the representatives of the European Union. But to my mind this is trying to do a very good job. [sentence as heard]

[Swallow] Regarding the arrest of the Bosnian Serbs, it's been described as a mini-crisis if not an out-and-out crisis. Shouldn't you have seen it coming, because the Dayton Peace Accord was riddled with ambiguities and opened the way for, if you like, freelance activity like this?

[Solana] Well let's put this thing in perspective. The number of problems we have had in this 50 days in which we have been deployed has been very, very limited, and this event of the other day, these arrests, they are contemplated in the NATO agreement. The important thing is that those people are being now under the tribunal. The tribunal has to decide if they are going to be indicted or freed, and that what we want from the tribunal is who decides about war criminals, which is something that all of us should be very concerned [about].

[Swallow] It sounds as if you are crossing your fingers. What are you actually going to do to defuse the tension when you've got Bosnian Serbs saying that they are going to attack any Croats and Muslims in their territory?

[Solana] I'm not crossing my fingers, hardly, of course. I'm working and giving instructions to the military authorities so that they can do their job with the security. They have the full support of the political bodies. But the Bosnian troops, now they have said that until this

case is clarified they would not participate in joint committees. Let me tell you that we have not accepted that letter of the Bosnian troops. The letter is signed by Mladic, and we do not recognize anything that comes from Mladic. Therefore we will continue offering the possibility of continuing our good relations in the joint military committee and other committees so that we continue working toward peace and to reconciliation in this region, and that is our mission. We have continued to do that.

[Swallow] You said the issue of war criminals is the central issue, therefore is it time for you to rethink the mission so that IFOR is taking a more proactive role in tracking down war criminals and protecting suspected mass war graves?

[Solana] Let me make it very clear, now the most important mission is to find, or to get, peace in the region.

[Swallow] But you cannot have peace without justice?

[Solana] But first we have to create an environment of security so that all these things that are in your control and in my control can be done. If we have not environment of security, Mr. Carl Bildt could not do his job and Judge Goldstone could not do his job either.

[Swallow] Yes, but at the moment Judge Goldstone's investigators aren't there; Carl Bildt's police force isn't set up. IFOR is the only game in town. IFOR is the only body with a capacity to track down war criminals, to do anything about war criminals.

[Solana] What we are doing is helping the police who have the responsibility. And, as you know, there has been already during... [pauses] This period of time will be probably the most delicate one. The time to go from T plus 45, in the jargon of the Dayton agreement, to T plus 90, that is the moment in which the two entities have to interchange their territories. At this moment, the most important and most efficient job we can do is to create the environment of security so that others can do their jobs.

[Swallow] Is this desire to not get more actively involved in tracking down war criminals to do with the fact that you know that the Americans will be gone in 10 months time?

[Solana] No, that has nothing to do [with it]. We are cooperating, as I have said before, with Judge Goldstone and Carl Bildt in order to solve the problems of the war criminals that are indicted. We will continue collaborating on that...

[Swallow, interrupting] Yes, but then you've got the farcical situation where Admiral Leighton Smith is

invited to lunch by Mladic and refuses to accept, because he knows if he meets Mladic he will have to arrest him?

[Solana] That is not a typical case. On the contrary, I think the response of Admiral Leighton Smith is the proper one — that it has nothing to do, really, with the time of finishing our mission on the ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have designed a mission; that mission is to separate those who were fighting before, so creating peace, and that we think can be done in one year.

[Swallow] How concerned are you about what happens when the Americans leave in November, because as

you know, all the warring factions suddenly started to behave themselves only because of the arrival of the American troops and the sort of military might that that represented?

[Solana] Let me tell you that I do not agree completely with what you have said. The warring factions stopped fighting when NATO [arrived]. And let me remind you that NATO is an organization built up of 16 countries, and at this moment on the ground there are 16 countries with forces on the ground plus another 16 countries which are not part of NATO; therefore we have an operation which is led by NATO.

EU: Commissioner in Cuba for Possible Cooperation Accord

LD0902124996 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network
in Spanish 0700 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] European Commissioner Manuel Marin is in Havana to examine with the island's authorities the possibility of a cooperation agreement between the EU and Cuba. Angel Tomas reports from Havana. Good morning.

[Tomas] Good morning. The EU commissioner for humanitarian aid in Latin America, Manuel Marin, arrived in Havana to hold talks with President Castro aimed at assessing the Cuban Government's willingness to press ahead with the process of reform which has been taking place on the island over the last few years. According to Commissioner Marin, in Brussels the European Commission has begun to draft the negotiation mandate for a possible cooperation agreement with the island. But before presenting it to the Council of Ministers it is necessary to know exactly what the EU's options for action with regard to the island's future would be.

Commissioner Marin's work program includes meetings with members of the Cuban Government, with Cardinal Jaime Ortega, ambassadors of the EU, and with representatives of the 16 European nongovernmental organizations dealing with humanitarian aid on the island.

Commissioner Manuel Marin also said that the drafting of the negotiation mandate for possible cooperation with the island depends on the reply he receives during his talks with the Cuban authorities.

EU: Legal Action Threatened on German-US Aviation Deal

BR1202095196 Brussels EUROPEAN VOICE
in English 8-14 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Fiona McHugh: "Bonn Faces Legal Challenge Over US Aviation Deal"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Germany may end up in court if it decides to go ahead with a bilateral 'open skies' accord with the US which was agreed in principle last week.

Although keen to play down the significance of the aviation deal, European Commission officials admitted Bonn would face the threat of legal action in the European Court of Justice if it carried through with its plan to open German airports to US carriers.

Transport Commissioner Neil Kinnock has been fighting an increasingly uphill battle for the right to negotiate a single EU-US air agreement on behalf of all 15 member

states, insisting that bilateral accords with third countries disrupt the single market and are illegal.

Germany's move, which will give US carriers increased access to one of the Union's biggest air passenger markets, represents a major blow to Kinnock's ambitions. This is the eighth in a series of bilateral accords Washington has succeeded in striking with EU countries in the last year, giving US airlines the kind of access to the EU market not available to Europeans on American soil.

Claiming that the seven agreements reached last year - between the US and Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Luxembourg, Finland and the UK - were putting moves towards a genuine single market for air transport at risk, Kinnock retaliated by threatening legal action and drew up a report showing the disadvantages of negotiating on an individual basis rather than as a bloc. The Commissioner has not carried out his threat so far, but nor, for that matter, has his tactic worked, as exemplified by the deal struck between the US and Germany last week.

The Commission claims the US is waging a 'divide and rule' war against the EU, winning access to the biggest and most attractive markets via the back door of smaller ones. "What is the point in a bloc if we do not use the muscle which it offers you to negotiate better deals?" said one of Kinnock's aides.

If, as the Commission claims, 'divide and rule' is the plan, then officials in Washington must currently be exchanging hearty congratulations on Germany's capitulation.

The only two crucial markets which still limit access to American carriers are France and, more importantly, the UK where Europe's busiest airport, Heathrow, is located. While the UK has signed a mini-deal with Washington, talks aimed at widening its scope collapsed in the autumn after London refused increased access to Heathrow.

US officials are hoping that the agreement with Bonn will put pressure on London to follow suit. But UK diplomats poured cold water on that optimistic thought. "They want direct access to Heathrow, so we still have a very strong card in our hand. We will continue to play hard ball," said one.

Speaking at a conference after the US deal was struck, German Transport Minister Matthias Wissman denied that Washington had forced Bonn to accept an unfavourable deal by holding a crucial joint venture between Lufthansa and United Airlines hostage to the liberalization talks. The two carriers are currently seeking anti-trust immunity, a status which other global

alliances, such as Northwest/KLM and British Airways/USAIR already enjoy.

Despite Wissmann's denials, the feeling in Brussels is that the US held Germany over a barrel and emerged the victor as a result. They point to the fact that Bonn insisted it would sign the open skies agreement only after the Lufthansa and United deal had been cleared by US competition authorities.

Similar shotgun tactics were used by Washington in its negotiations with the Netherlands last year, when it used The Hague's eagerness to see KLM, the Dutch carrier, and Northwest Airlines win immunity from anti-trust laws to get an aviation agreement.

The Commission is putting a brave face on the latest developments, but officials realise that the longer the list of countries striking bilateral deals with the US becomes, the weaker the EU's future negotiating position is likely to be.

EU: EU Commissioner Comments on Unemployment, WEU

AU1002010496 Vienna WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 8 Feb 96 pp 24-25

[Interview with EU Commissioner Franz Fischler by Hans Besenboeck; place and date not given: "Fighting Unemployment Is Also a Matter of the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Besenboeck] During your visit to Vienna last week, you made very critical remarks about EU member Austria. I do not want to ask you for the reason for your criticism — that Austria is less and less able to meet the Maastricht criteria — but for the reason for that development: Has Austria underestimated what it means to be a member of the EU?

[Fischler] I did not express any general criticism in connection with Austria's EU membership. I only pointed out that Austria has moved farther and farther away from the Maastricht criteria over the past two years. To assess a country within the EU, one has to examine whether the tendency is toward Maastricht or away from it.

[Besenboeck] From your point of view as EU commissioner: Has Austria been taking the easy way out in its relationship with Brussels during its first year as EU member?

[Fischler] One cannot say that after one year of membership Austria is any worse off than the other new members. It was clear from the beginning that there would be some teething troubles, and we always said

that it will take some three years for us to be something like an old member of the EU.

[Besenboeck] In Brussels's view, has Austria gotten to the same level as Portugal and Greece during that first year, which means, is Austria considered a country that has a lot of catching-up to do?

[Fischler] I think one must make a distinction between status and development. Where status is concerned, we belong to the group of members that are fairly close to the required criteria. But as far as development is concerned, we have fallen back because of the budget problems and domestic-policy events. That means that where status is concerned, many southern members are facing much bigger problems, but with regard to development we are at the bottom of the list at the moment.

[Besenboeck] Does that mean that either we manage to consolidate the budget, or we will drop to the level of the weakest EU members also with regard to status?

[Fischler] What is at stake here is Austria's credibility. We Austrians said that we want to play in the first league, which is good. But now we must also make sure that this is possible.

[Besenboeck] Brussels has also been quite surprised at Austria's personnel policy, at the two major political parties suggesting their own candidates for EU posts. But, on the other hand, those suggested were good people. Does Brussels consider form more important than quality?

[Fischler] It is not a matter of party-political choices. It has been a matter of qualifications; and most of all, it is up to Brussels to decide who is appointed for what post. It is not a matter of suggesting a person whom Brussels then has to accept. But Austria has already learnt a lot, there is no need for development there.

[Besenboeck] A number of Austrian companies have filed complaints in Brussels in connection with fair competition, and Brussels is conducting several relevant examinations in Austria. Is Austria anticompetitive, or is that normal practice within the EU?

[Fischler] That is completely normal. Over 1,000 competition examination procedures are pending in Germany at the moment, that is quite normal. The EU does not conduct examinations in order to prohibit things, but it wants clarity at an early stage. A company can be ruined, if it has to pay back a subsidy because it did not know in advance whether it is in line with competition.

[Besenboeck] Let us talk about employment policy: During your visit to Vienna you spoke out against

relaxing the Maastricht austerity demands because of growing unemployment in Europe. What should be done to fight unemployment?

[Fischler] Even the social democratic heads of government have realized that it does not make sense to include unemployment in the convergence criteria. But that does not mean that we simply ignore the problems of unemployment. On the contrary: I think that this will be a crucial problem during the next few years. Unless we come to terms with structural unemployment, this will become a problem for social peace and social balance in Europe, which could lead to a crisis in the whole of the EU.

[Besenboeck] What can the EU do?

[Fischler] In specific terms: The trans-European networks — the expansion of railroads and data services — have been developed with a view to employment. A second point: We have to invest an enormous amount in research and development to create secure jobs for the future. Third: I am planning a new policy for the rural areas in my field of activity, agriculture. Small and medium-sized companies have to be set up there; people who are linked with their companies via computers can work there. And another thing: I consider the possibility of including a social charter in the EU treaty worth discussing. But — and I set great store by that — if this is done, the EU must be equipped with the right instruments, otherwise this would be a mere placebo. That has already become apparent in the trans-European networks: All the heads of government consider them enormously important, but they have not made any clear statements on the simple question where the money for this should be found.

[Besenboeck] In plain language: If the EU should fight unemployment, it needs more money from its members.

[Fischler] Yes, that is one of the consequences.

[Besenboeck] What amounts are we talking about?

[Fischler] The EU budget is about the same size as Austria's. If one wants to create impulses against unemployment, one will have to increase this clearly. Costs for the trans-European networks alone are some 500 billion Austrian schilling. That means that efficient employment measures require enormous funds. But all this can only work, if there is cooperation between the EU and its members. It would be wrong to delegate the whole unemployment problem to Brussels, waiting for it to be solved there.

[Besenboeck] But will a solution be possible without Brussels?

[Fischler] No, there are developments today that must be tackled on a European level: big key research projects, such as biotechnology, the big European network infrastructure, big European industrial projects, for instance in the field of defense, where we have big problems at the moment. Fighting unemployment is also a matter to be tackled by the EU.

[Besenboeck] Should Austria join the WEU [Western European Union]? [Fischler] That is a sensitive question for Austria. In all these decisions we should be guided by the idea: What provides the highest degree of security for Austria? And since there is no actual WEU — unlike NATO — the whole thing is somewhat difficult for people to understand. But I am sure that when we turn the WEU into an operational thing, Austrians will form a very clear opinion. Surely, nobody can imagine that Hungary and the Czech Republic become members of the WEU while Austria leads a miserable life of its own in between.

[Besenboeck] Does neutrality still imply the highest degree of security for us?

[Fischler] That is a justified question. But: Abolishing neutrality as quickly as possible does not get us more security either. I am in favor of making a pragmatic decision once it becomes clear in the upcoming inter-governmental conference what the future EU security policy will look like, whether the WEU will be NATO's logistical and operational wing in Europe...

[Besenboeck] Would you be in favor? NATO exists already, it works, would that not be the simplest solution?

[Fischler] Yes, I think that this is quite logical; mainly because the concept of the Cold War no longer exists for NATO and because some rethinking is needed there. And if Europe wants to deepen integration, for instance through a single market with a common currency, this must also apply to security policy.

[Besenboeck] Does that mean that the WEU should be a European arm of NATO?

[Fischler] Debates are increasingly focussing on that option.

[Besenboeck] Do you think that it would make sense?

[Fischler] Yes, I quite like the idea.

[Besenboeck] In conclusion, what is your opinion on Economic and Monetary Union? Will it come into force in 1999?

[Fischler] I would say yes. The only consequence of all the noisy debates on postponing it has been that all those responsible have reiterated the deadline.

[Besennoeck] Will Austria take part?

[Fischler] I hope so.

EU: EP Calls Passport Controls Proposals 'Over-Timid'

*BR1202095696 Brussels EUROPEAN VOICE
in English 8-14 Feb 96 p 1*

[Article by Rory Watson: "New Blow to Goal of Border-Free EU"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A Package of measures drawn up by the European Commission aimed at the eventual abolition of all passport controls at the EU's internal borders has run into fresh trouble, amid claims that it stands no chance of being implemented before the turn of the century.

A report being prepared for the European Parliament [EP] brands the proposals as over-timid and unrealistic, and asks MEPs to consider the highly unusual step of demanding they be withdrawn and replaced by a "more serious" initiative.

The draft report deals another blow to the Commission's strategy for finally achieving its goal of ensuring the free movement of people, as set out in successive Union treaties.

As internal market ministers prepare to discuss the Commission's proposals at an informal meeting in Rome later this month, UK officials made it clear this week that their government was determined to maintain passport controls on passengers and would block any attempt to force it into line.

The parliamentary attack is being led by British Socialist MEP Glyn Ford. He has described the package as a "poisoned pill" and argues it is an inadequate response to the MEPs' decision to take their battle for a truly border-free Union to the European Court of Justice.

Ford's criticism is specifically directed at the Commission's acceptance that passport checks would only be abolished once a series of conventions on visas, asylum and information exchange have come into force.

Despite more than five years of negotiations, agreement on these conventions remains as elusive as ever and Ford argues that this makes it highly unlikely that they will be implemented before the year 2000, or even 2005.

When the full Parliament considers the Commission's plan after Easter, it will be asked to judge whether it is a "serious" proposal or not.

Ford suggests not. "Can it be accepted that the free movement of persons, foreseen for January 1993, at

latest, will only be possible from 2000 or 2005?" his report asks.

The Commission believes that its package offers the best chance of breaking the current logjam. But the UK, which could veto the proposal single handed, is standing firm in insisting that border controls are a vital weapon against terrorism and international crime and will not be surrendered.

A senior British official confirmed this week: "Our position has not changed. I cannot envisage the circumstances when a British government, of whatever colour, would change this stance. One thing everyone accepts is different about Britain is that we are an island. That makes it possible to control goods and people that cross our frontiers."

The one source of comfort for the Italy, which currently holds the EU presidency is an apparent change of attitude in Paris. France, evidently impressed at the progress made by the Netherlands in tackling drugs smuggling, signalled this week it could soon be in a position to apply fully the Schengen agreement which has abolished border controls between some member states.

Italy has highlighted the need for progress on the abolition of controls outside as well as inside the Schengen zone. "This is extremely important as it is a focal element of the internal market. It reflects the EU's approach towards its citizens," said one Italian official this week.

Italy will ask single market ministers to search for ways to promote "greater awareness of the advantages and opportunities that the internal market offers" to citizens at their meeting on 24 February.

But despite its support for the internal market, the British government is unlikely to be swayed by such arguments. It may now, however, find itself in a minority of one after the recent change of heart in Paris.

EU: Commission Says EMU Public Debt Rule 'Superfluous'

*BR1202095496 Brussels EUROPEAN VOICE
in English 8-14 Feb 96 p 2*

[Article by Tim Jones: "Commission Suggests EMU Public Debt Rule 'Superfluous'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgium and Italy could see their journey to a single currency bloc eased if a proposal to turn a blind eye to the Maastricht Treaty's public debt target is agreed to by member states.

As German politicians repeat their demand for a strict interpretation of the treaty's infamous 'convergence

criteria', the European Commission is suggesting that capping public debt at 50 percent or 60 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in the 'Euro' bloc would be a waste of time.

In a discussion paper aimed at incorporating the German idea of a 'stability pact' into a Union framework, the Commission services conclude that targeting the budget deficit at 3 percent of GDP and, in the longer-term at 1 percent, is far more important.

"Seeking to impose an additional constraint on the gross debt ratio appears to be superfluous, as permanently keeping the deficit below 3 percent of GDP would ensure a downward trend in the debt ratio to well below 60 percent of GDP," says the report.

While the proposals relate to the conduct of fiscal policy within the single currency bloc once it has been established, they are music to the ears of the Belgian authorities.

They feel their country's low inflation and interest rates, huge trade surplus and steadily reducing budget deficit will qualify Belgium for the first-tier of monetary union membership even if poor economic management in the Seventies has left it with public debt worth close to 140 percent of GDP.

"In 1996, Belgium will fulfil four out of the five criteria with honour," said National Bank President Alfons Verplaetse in October.

The fifth criterion, that is the Belgian debt lever is a reminder of what went wrong in the past, rather than an indicator of present policy performances."

The slowdown in economic growth throughout Europe at the end of last year means that the government will probably miss its budget deficit target of 3 percent of GDP this year, but should be able to achieve it in 1997.

When a summit decides in early 1998 who should join the monetary union, Belgium should have satisfied every criterion and the political imperative to bring the whole of Benelux into the bloc will be great.

The only questionmark will hang over whether, in the words of the treaty Belgium has cut its public debt ratio

at a 'satisfactory pace', even if it is still close to 130 percent and has no chance of cutting it to 60 percent before 2015.

The Commission report holds out fresh hope for Brussels. It says that sustaining a 1 percent budget deficit, as the Germans demand, would require a primary surplus - with government revenue outstripping spending once interest repayments on old debts have been taken out of the equation - of between 5.5 percent and 7 percent. This should allow the debt to fall ten percentage points over a decade.

Belgium's primary surplus has grown steadily in the Nineties and the government is aiming to keep it around 6 percent in the coming years, allowing significant reductions in the overall deficit and the debt.

While Italy's prospects for monetary union membership are less rosy, given continued political volatility and the absolute size of its public debt (which now represents 124 percent of GDP), it too will benefit if the Commission's arguments are taken up.

With a primary surplus of 3 percent, sustained budgetary cutbacks and one of the EU's better growth rates, Italy is on course to hit the 3 percent deficit target in 1998, a year too late.

"Italy could join, but it depends how flexibly you look at the Maastricht Treaty, whether you are prepared to look behind the figures and realise Italy is not in a debt trap anymore," said Giorgio Raddelli at Lehman Brothers International.

Over the last two years, Italian governments have succeeded in reining back public spending despite unrelenting political pressure. If new Prime Minister-designate Antonio Di Pietro can form a government capable of sustaining the Italian parliament's support, he may be able to take even tougher measures.

Many German and French companies, if not their central bankers, would be keen to lock Italy into a single currency rather than leave it outside as a constant devaluing threat. Whether Bonn and Frankfurt can agree to this is, however, another matter.

(F-10) There is a sort of odd paradox of when you were living there isn't there really, that on the one hand it needs to be a part of the Iraqi state first, and to gradually themselves from the IRA, on the other hand.

once they do that they lose their clout, they lose our fear of them, or our respect for their dangerousness, and they actually become a tiny, tiny electoral factor?

[Mayhew] Well they always claim that there is ten to twelve percent of the electorate who vote for them, and there is substance in that. But what we are talking about is getting everybody who is a democratic party around the table. Now if Sinn Fein wish to come around the table, wish to claim that they are democratically committed then they have got to show that, you don't show it by saying well I am afraid I can't say either that I hope there won't be another explosion, another outrage, they have got to show that they are wholly committed. Now that was the problem when the cease-fires came about, the cease-fires were not expressed to be permanent, and so we got through into well we will make a working assumption that you intend this to be permanent, but of course that assumption has been shattered by what happened last week.

[Frost] And is the time-table, is your time-table, your and the Prime Minister's time-table for elections, is that still the same as it was on Friday?

[Mayhew] Potentially it can be very quick, and we would like it to be very quick because this is a door into the conference table by which everybody can enter, and by passing through that door they generate the confidence in everybody else that they truly are committed, because they would have put themselves to the electorate, putting themselves forward as democratically committed to peaceful means, and the electorate by definition will have accepted that. It gives a mandate to them, to sit in the table notwithstanding that they have not made a start to decommissioning if they are a party like Sinn Fein, and it gives a mandate to Unionists to sit down and talk to people notwithstanding that they have not started to decommission, and that is why it is a door and not an obstacle.

[Frost] So now you have got tonight this meeting, the vital meeting at number ten Downing Street, and obviously one can think of a list of items on the agenda, or in everybody's mind, I mean stepping up security, improving our intelligence about what the IRA are up to, catching those who are responsible, or finding some new method of re-establishing momentum to the peace process, all important, all four important, which has the greatest priority for you tonight?

[Mayhew] I think keeping the peace process alive, it's injured, it's very seriously injured, but it's not terminally injured and we are going to keep it going.

UK: Sinn Fein's Adams Interviewed on Break in Talks

LD1102150896 Dublin RTE Radio One Network in English 1130 GMT 11 Feb 96

[Telephone interview with Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams by unidentified correspondent — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] The president of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams, joins us now by telephone. Good afternoon, Gerry Adams.

[Adams] Good afternoon.

[Correspondent] You were clearly very unhappy last night — from your statement — at the government's decision to break off meetings with your party. Do you feel any better about that today?

[Adams] No, I'm going to try to be very measured in how I respond to what the Taoiseach [Irish Prime Minister John Bruton] has had to say. I want first of all to correct him. Sinn Fein candidates are not asked to support armed struggle. He should know that. Secondly, I want to try to point out to everyone that this peace process was built because Sinn Fein, with others, played a central role in the building of it. And while others were vilifying us and engaging in the policies of marginalization and isolation, myself and [Social Democratic and Labour Party leader] John Hume for a very long time exerted and asserted the centrality of dialogue as a means of ending conflict.

Now let me rehearse a number of very important statements for you. First of all, Sinn Fein believes absolutely in ending conflict through democratic negotiations. The statements which I made with Mr. Hume, with Albert Reynolds, the former Taoiseach, with this Taoiseach and with the Tanaiste [Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring] all stand. Every commitment which I have given I have honored, and for the government in Dublin now to retreat from its central responsibility — and I'm trying to be measured in what I'm saying — its central responsibility to play a leadership role in moving the situation forward is a testing time for all of us. But one has to bear in mind that in the same way as I seek to examine my stewardship of this peace process, then Mr. Bruton must seek to examine his stewardship of it also. And this cessation and the basis on which it was put together was spelled out clearly to the Taoiseach at the time when he took over, by me, by others and he understood clearly the basis of Sinn Fein's total commitment to negotiations to move the way forward, and he also understood that 18 months into a situation where the British Government had not even moved one jot to engage in real negotiations which was one, which was undermined.

[Correspondent, interrupting] Hasn't the Taoiseach made that point...

[Adams] Let me finish. It isn't a matter of making points. It is a matter of realizing all the time as we seek to make peace with our opponents and with our enemies that it's going to be difficult, it's going to be dangerous, it's going to be tragic as we saw unfortunately in London, and that we cannot move forward except on the basis of inclusiveness. Now I have a responsibility to uphold the rights of citizens who vote for our party. Leave everything else aside...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Well...

[Adams, interrupting] Leave aside the misrepresented... [pauses] misrepresentation of Sinn Fein's position.

[Correspondent:] But the government says your central responsibility, and that's a moral one, is to go to the IRA as you did before and attempt to exert your influence. John Hume says you're the person who can do most to persuade the IRA to resume its cessation.

[Adams] With respect, it ill behooves politicians to preach morality to each other, but the moral imperative for me is to succeed in achieving the peace.

[Correspondent] And isn't the first step in that to renew the IRA cessation?

[Adams] The first step in that, if I can say so with respect, was for me to talk to the Taoiseach as I did with Mr. Hume, to talk to the British Government, to explore how we can move this situation forward. What's the point in me going to the IRA unless I'm able to go with a persuasive argument. The IRA are open to persuasion. We wouldn't have had a cessation if they hadn't been open to persuasion. And you know if you think back of four years ago when my voice could not have been heard on these airwaves, when members of our party were being killed because of the campaign of vilification being waged against them. Had I said, or had someone said, there would be a cessation by the IRA, it would last for 18 months, the British Government would not be moved even to begin substantive negotiations, would anyone have believed me? Well that's the reality of the situation. And

[Correspondent, interrupting] Well, you say that the IRA is open to persuasion. Do you know at this time that the IRA leadership is open to persuasion to renew the cessation? Do you know that?

[Adams] I have to live in that hope, and what we were able to put together before clearly, clearly we have to try and put together again, and we won't do that by closing doors. And it's okay for Mr. Bruton to say that the door is not closed. I asked for a meeting, and remember

this isn't the first meeting that has been refused by this Taoiseach. I asked for a meeting in order to discuss this. I have to say, and I live in the North, I live in the reality of the situation, I have to say that I reject as nicely as I can any suggestion that the leadership which I represent and the party which I represent is not wedded to our peace strategy. It is the main function of our party and I think, without saying things which will drive other people to react to me, that I have to ask the Taoiseach to reconsider his position. If he is saying to me that he will not meet with me or with representatives of those who have voted for us unless the IRA ends its campaign, what room does that give for anyone to maneuver, when the lesson is that marginalization under Stormont or marginalization in the 20 years since Stormont fell achieved nothing. What was the breakthrough? The breakthrough was when John Hume and I started to talk, when (others) took risks.

[Correspondent] And a cessation resulted and that's now gone.

[Adams] Let's put it together again. I mean are we going to give up the ghost?

[Correspondent] How are we going to do that? John Hume says you're the person who can do most in that respect.

[Adams] And I am trying to do that, but you will pardon me if I try to point out to others. You know, if I have influence as people, as people try to suggest that I have, then at least my opinions are worth something and at least I deserve the facility of going to talk to the leader of the Irish state and the 26 counties. I, at least, have some responsibility. As Mr. Hume said if it was going to save all life would you refuse to talk? We're not playing politics with this issue. We are trying to cure or to find an agreed solution to a vexed conflict which is a fact of the lives of people on these two islands for hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years. And you know, the temptation for all of us is to go for the safe ground, is to retreat back to old positions.

[Correspondent, interrupting] Well, the IRA surely is the first group that has retreated to its old position.

[Adams] Well, I have already made clear my views and made clear also where the responsibility for what the IRA does, where it lies, and it lies obviously with the IRA. But what one is then moved to say are those who vote for Sinn Fein going to be punished for what an organization, over which they have no authority, does? And you also have to consider that — and this has to be factored into all of what we do — you see the IRA did a courageous thing 18 months ago. And it did it on an

understanding that other things would flow from what it did. It created the room...

[Correspondent, interrupting] It also said that the ceasefire would hold in all circumstances, that turned out not to be the case and the Taoiseach calls that a breach of faith.

[Adams] Well, that's a matter for the Taoiseach to make that opinion.

[Correspondent] You don't agree?

[Adams] I speak for Sinn Fein. I have honored every single commitment that I have made. The IRA ended its complete cessation. It stated in its statement clearly why it did so. It called the complete cessation, and we all know this, so that all-party talks, substantive negotiations could begin. Three months later the British put a new pre-condition. It's a miracle that it didn't break then. That it didn't is due to the commitment of Republicans and the ingenuity of all our people who took great risks. So all I'm saying in one sentence is this: That the way forward is through dialogue, the way forward is through inclusiveness, the way forward is through substantive negotiations and we should all resist the temptation to fall back on the old safe positions. They have failed. The old agenda has failed and we need to move forward with everyone, everyone taking risks.

[Correspondent] Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, thank you for joining us.

UK: Blair Tells Sinn Fein 'No Place for Violence'

LD1102121796 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1159 GMT 11 Feb 96

[By political correspondent Sian Clare]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Labour leader Tony Blair today warned Sinn Fein there was no place for violence, or the threat of a return to the bomb, in the Ulster peace process. All parties must be committed to democratic methods alone, he told Labour's European and local government conferences in Birmingham.

"Our task now, even in the aftermath of such a shattering tragedy, is to keep hope alive. That cannot be done unless everyone, Sinn Fein in particular, understands one single and unalterable truth. Peace cannot work unless all parties are committed exclusively to democratic methods and there is no place in this process for violence or the threat of violence. No one can negotiate whilst reserving the right, if democracy does not yield what they want at the pace they want it, to revert to the bomb and bullet. There is a choice: peace with hope, or violence without it," he said.

Mr Blair spoke of the new freedom the people of Ulster had experienced since the ceasefire and the economic progress made.

"We must not let them be robbed of that progress. Look at the benefits of peace, marvel at the renewed hope for the future it has already brought.

"Of course, it is hard, strewn with the accumulated misunderstandings of centuries of distrust and oppression. But no one can doubt that it is the only path to take, or that it is essentially and honestly supported by the vast majority of people of both traditions in Northern Ireland and indeed in the North and South of Ireland," he said.

Mr Blair offered his deepest sympathies to the victims of Friday's bomb and their families and praised the emergency services for their efficiency and courage. He went on to pledge that Labour never had, and never would, "play party politics" with the peace process and supported the Government in the search for peace.

UK: Adams on Government's Neglect of Peace Process

MS1202110696 London THE GUARDIAN in English
12 Feb 96 p 14

[Article by Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams: "Bad Faith and Dishonesty"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "If the focus remains on the past, the past will become the future and that is something that no one can desire.

In that one small sentence, Senator George Mitchell and his colleagues in their international report last month captured the heartfelt aspiration of the people of Ireland for a lasting peace. A peace process, any peace process, if it is to be meaningful and enduring, must tackle the issues at the heart of a conflict. Success, a permanent peace, depends upon a negotiated settlement firmly rooted in democracy and self-determination.

For nearly a year-and-a-half the guns of war in Ireland were silenced. For several years in advance of that, myself, the SDLP [Social Democratic Labour Party] leader John Hume, the former Irish Taoiseach Albert Reynolds and Irish-America painstakingly put together a package which persuaded the IRA to call a complete cessation of military operations on the basis that it would lead to an inclusive process of negotiations. Regrettably, both British government and unionist intransigence, and their refusal to engage imaginatively or flexibly with the peace process, prevented the urgent and necessary consolidation of that process.

On Friday night last, the IRA ended its 18-month-long cessation. The announcement was greeted univer-

sally with disappointment and regret. At this time my thoughts are with the families of those killed and injured in the London explosion. I understand the pain they are going through. I speak from the personal experience of losing many relatives, friends and colleagues in 25 years of conflict. It may be difficult for some people to absorb this after what happened on Friday night, but the reality is that the IRA was undefeated when 18 months ago it took a very courageous decision to create what was universally recognised to be the greatest opportunity since partition to resolve the conflict and secure a lasting peace settlement. But the British government and the unionists erected one obstacle after another to frustrate every attempt to sit down around the negotiating table.

Inclusive negotiations, without preconditions or vetos, is the key to advancing the peace process to a peace settlement. This was the commitment given by the two governments, publicly and repeatedly in the run-up to the IRA cessation. This was the context in which the IRA in August 1994 made their historic announcement. Since that time there has not been one word of real negotiations. Nor is there even the prospect of negotiations beginning.

For 18 months Sinn Fein and others have been standing at the negotiating table waiting for the British government and the unionists to sit down with the rest of us to agree a new and peaceful future. The cumulative evidence points damningly to a British-government strategy locked into a psychology of war a mindset which demands victory over republicans rather than agreement and compromise. We have witnessed bad faith and dishonesty, new preconditions, stalling, negativity and provocation. British bad faith and dishonesty which confounded those who believed that the British would approach the peace process positively; bad faith and dishonesty which was so barefaced that it surprised even those of us with a healthy cynicism about British intentions.

We watched as Private Lee Clegg was released and then promoted, as David Trimble marched through the nationalist community in Garvaghy Road, as Irish prisoners were mis-treated in English jails, as plastic bullets were fired at peaceful demonstrators, as RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] raids wrecked nationalist homes. We pointed out, with growing desperation, that there could be no negotiated peace without peace negotiations. That without peace talks there was no peace process.

Yet Sinn Fein maintained its positive approach to the peace process. Last November, the two governments established the twin-track approach. The Irish Taoiseach,

John Bruton described it as the means by remove preconditions to all party talks. But when Senator George Mitchell's international body issued its report the British government dumped it, reneging again on its commitment to begin all party talks.

When the IRA announced its complete cessation of military operations, it presented everyone, but particularly the two governments with a unique and unprecedented opportunity. The hope and expectation was most effectively summed up by Seamus Heaney, when he described the new situation as a "space in which hope can grow".

Our goal was to deepen that hope, to nourish it and to build a new beginning for all of the Irish people, and to open a new chapter in the relationship between the Irish and British people. Regrettably that hope was dashed on the rock of John Major's self-interest and the need for unionist votes at Westminster. While the IRA must bear the responsibility for its actions in London, the British government must bear its total responsibility for the collapse of the peace process. It has been guilty of criminal neglect.

One thing is clear: it is not possible to have peace in Ireland unless the British government is committed to that objective.

Clearly, the question now must be what happens next? In any conflict, there are two ways of bringing it to an end. Either one side defeats the other, seeks a surrender of the other, or we somehow find a way to rebuild the peace process and work for and secure a negotiated peace settlement.

Sinn Fein has repeatedly pointed out, with others, that the peace process could not stand still. If it was not moving forward it was always in grave danger of moving back. That has now happened.

But despite the tragic breakdown of the IRA cessation, Sinn Fein's peace strategy remains as the main function of our party. Our efforts to build an effective peace process must be redoubled.

What is clearly needed is a negotiated peace settlement. We needed that before Friday night's events, we need it more than ever now. How do we achieve that goal? In his submission to the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin just before Christmas, FW De Klerk recommended that a peace process should be played like a one-day, and not a three-day, game of cricket. In other words, it is crucial that people sit down around the table and treat each other as human beings.

Peace in Ireland can only be achieved through honest dialogue and democratic negotiations based on equality.

This is not a military problem. It is a political problem which was militarised by the British. It needs a political solution; that can only be achieved by dialogue.

This is not a time for knee-jerk reactions or for slamming the door on dialogue. That will only aggravate the situation. People in Ireland and Britain want above all to see their governments and political representatives move positively and decisively to engage in dialogue to resolve our difficulties.

For Sinn Fein's part, we are firmly committed to democratic and peaceful means of resolving political issues and to the objective of an equitable and lasting agreement that can commend the consent and allegiance of all the people on the island of Ireland.

Sinn Fein also remains committed to the total disarmament of all armed groups and to the removal, forever, of all guns, republican, loyalist and British, from the political equation in Ireland. Sinn Fein's commitment to our peace strategy and to a lasting peace based on democratic negotiations remains absolute.

UK: Trimble Says Election 'More Important Now'
*MS1202103896 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 12 Feb 96 p 18*

[Article by Ulster Unionist Leader David Trimble:
"Now We Know What They Mean By Peace Process"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The "peace process" is based on a proposition advanced two years ago by John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. In essence, it said that the IRA leadership realised the futility of violence: that it could not succeed either in driving the British people of Ulster into an all-Ireland state, or in forcing the British Government to abandon them: that republicans wanted to extricate themselves from terrorism and move towards peace and democracy, and sought the assistance of the two governments.

We were sceptical then as to whether that proposition was true. But it would have been wrong to dismiss it out of hand. The Government proceeded, cautiously, to put the proposition to the test — to set out in the Downing Street Declaration a path towards peace and the democratic process along which Sinn Fein/IRA could go if they wished. Following that path would have put the proposition to the test, for it required Sinn Fein/IRA to demonstrate by their actions that they were committed to peaceful means and the democratic process. Put simply, they had to give up their guns and rely solely on their votes.

In the past two years the Government has been incredibly patient as Sinn Fein/IRA twisted and turned to avoid these two tests. On Friday they confirmed in the most

public and brutal manner possible that they have failed those tests.

We must draw the necessary conclusion. John Hume's proposition was and is false. There can no longer be any illusion about the nature of Sinn Fein/IRA. It is not about to become a democratic party. It remains locked in the culture of Irish republicanism. A culture that regards the violence of a few as superior to the wishes of the many. It is also a conspiratorial party, adept at concealing its aims and presenting a "peace process" as based false front to the world. There must be no excuses made for the violence. It does not result from a failure to talk to Sinn Fein/IRA.

The Government has talked to them from the outset, and shown them how they could have got into substantive negotiations with other parties had they proved their good faith by starting to put their guns aside. We were even prepared to waive that reasonable request if Sinn Fein/IRA submitted themselves to the democratic process. Substantive talks with all parties were offered if they stood for, and took their seats in, the Peace Convention we proposed. Some say that the prospect of an election was the last straw for the IRA, others that it was Senator Mitchell's insistence on a tough set of principles, or the insistence by other nationalists in the Dublin Forum that Sinn Fein publicly acknowledge the principle of consent. It does not matter which was the last straw, for they all involved a need for Sinn Fein to declare clearly where it stood. That it has now done.

There must be no benefit for the terrorists from this outrage. I suspect that one of their objects was to kill off the prospect of an election. They must not be allowed to succeed. The democratic process must not be set aside because of terrorism. An election is even more important now. It will enable the people to pass judgment on Sinn Fein. I think it is vital that northern nationalists be given the chance to say that they do not want a return to violence. For that to happen they must be given an alternative. Here the duty of the SDLP [Social Democratic Labour Party] is incapable. John Hume cannot continue his relationship with Sinn Fein. Nor can he continue to echo the demands of Sinn Fein. He must present the democratic alternative for nationalists. So far he seems reluctant to do so. I appreciate that he faces uncomfortable realities and choices. But those choices must be made in favour of the democratic process.

The Irish government also faces uncomfortable decisions. It has at least started by cutting off links with Sinn Fein. It has to follow that through to its logical conclusion. Sinn Fein has made no attempt to distance itself from the terror. It has failed to take the democratic path. It now must be treated as what it is — the propa-

ganda wing of a terrorist gang. It must be shunned by all elements of society. The alternative approach, that of "bringing it in from the cold", has failed. It has chosen to return to its former state, so out it must go.

In addition, the Irish government must remember that the bomb was almost certainly manufactured on, and transported through its territory to attack the United Kingdom. Its response to the resumption of the campaign cannot be in the political sphere alone. It must also start to track down and close the bomb factories and find and eliminate the arms dumps. The British Government must act in a similar fashion. So far the security response has been low key and reactive. Soon it will have to be more positive.

The United States too can help. I am writing from Washington, and I find that there is a palpable sense of shock here. A realisation that they have been deceived by Sinn Fein and others.

The White House can exercise influence on nationalists. Today I will be asking President Clinton to reaffirm his support for the Downing Street Declaration and the principles in the Mitchell report. I will also ask him to support peace and democracy in Northern Ireland and will say to him that the best way to show that we will not be deflected from those objectives is to hold immediate elections.

But that alone is not enough. The democratic process in Ulster is deformed by the effect of direct rule from London and indirect rule from Dublin. We need real reform. We need an effective, inclusive system of local decision-taking in which all democratic parties can share. And we need that local system to be plugged in properly to the wider political scene in the rest of the United Kingdom and in Europe. The Irish Republic can play a positive role in this process if it wishes, but if it is not willing to do so, it must not be allowed to remain an obstruction.

UK: McMichael Urges Return to Mitchell Report Process

MS1202102296 London *INDEPENDENT* in English
12 Feb 96 p 19

[Article by Gary McMichael, leader of Ulster Democratic Party: "Close the Door on Gerry Adams"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The actions of the IRA are no less reprehensible than their insulting efforts to lay the blame for Friday's murderous acts upon the British government and John Major in particular. Mr Major has made mistakes (none of us in this peace process could honestly say we have not made errors in the past 18

months), but the difficulties we have faced can only be overcome by political means.

The country is collectively holding its breath to see what direction the IRA may take. Before Friday there were two ceasefires, there remains one. The loyalist paramilitaries who ceased hostilities in October 1994 must consider their position. The Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) stated last August that it would not initiate a return to war, that there would be "no first strike". The IRA has made a proactive strike: what now?

The loyalist organisations have demonstrated remarkable restraint so far in difficult circumstances. The CLMC is committed to a democratic resolution of the conflict, however, its members are compelled to defend their community from attack. The responsibility lies squarely at the feet of the IRA to avoid a return to war. Much will depend upon the actions of republicans in coming days and weeks, and loyalists will be keeping the evolving situation under constant review.

The IRA has excluded itself from the democratic process by its initiation of violence. The penalties for walking away from peace must be demonstrated. Sinn Fein has maintained its prominent position because it represents the IRA in this process, yet Gerry Adams has illustrated that he has been unable to retain control. Doors were opened to him because he brought the IRA into the peace process, but he has failed to deliver the goods. The IRA's despicable actions demand that those doors again be closed. After being placed upon the world stage, Adams should now be pushed off it.

President Clinton must demonstrate his rejection of the IRA's position by reversing the concessions he made for them. Sinn Fein's funds in the US must be frozen and the visas granted for Adams and others revoked.

The peace process must continue without the IRA, and all efforts must be made to achieve all-party negotiations. Sinn Fein cannot be accepted within that process if it is prepared to support a dual strategy. The days of the ballot box and the Armalite have gone.

We have to focus on how we can retrieve the situation and move forward. David Trimble holds firm that there should be elections, but there is no consensus upon what those elections should be to.

I oppose elections. The potential for further division which they would promise at this delicate juncture should be avoided at all costs. I would urge that we respect the immediacy of the need to regain control of the peace process.

The best way forward is for all other parties to enter a negotiation framework based upon the democratic principles proposed by the Mitchell Commission. To gain entry into those negotiations, republicans would be required to resume their ceasefire and accept the Mitchell principles. The IRA must decide once and for all whether it is prepared for war or for peace. It cannot be afforded a halfway house. That decision must be made soon.

UK: Sinn Fein Role as IRA Mouthpiece Questioned

MSI202104996 London *THE GUARDIAN* in English
12 Feb 96 p 14

[Article by Seamus Mallon, deputy leader Social Democratic Labour Party: "The Tough Choices That Face Sinn Fein"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] It is important to remember that the nature of the problems we have to solve is the same today as it was before the end of the ceasefire. What has changed as a result of the bomb is the context in which a solution to those problems can be found.

Tragically the IRA action has made it very difficult, if not impossible at present, for the Irish government and the SDLP (Social Democratic Labour Party) vigorously to pursue all-party talks within the twin-track approach. The Irish government's decision regarding Sinn Fein, and the very obvious reaction of the British government, makes that well-nigh impossible.

The IRA should know that what they have done is not just barbaric, but counterproductive, in that they have destroyed the possibility of all-party negotiations by the cut-off date of February 29. They have also left Sinn Fein in a very difficult position: is it a political party working within the political process and governed by consensus, or a prisoner of the arbitrary and autonomous decisions of the IRA Army Council?

Only Sinn Fein can answer that question. Ultimately it must decide if it is going to carry the millstone of IRA violence around its neck, or if it will free itself and seek an agreed political solution based on consent and without any form of coercion.

However, we must also remember that there are only two choices facing us in Northern Ireland. We can make peace, or we can make war. That is the challenge, and it is well to recognise that making peace means talking, negotiating, and reaching agreement with our political enemies. Consequently, no group which firmly commits itself to non-violent means should be excluded or marginalised. To succeed, negotiations must include all those opposed to violence and reflect the needs and aspirations of the entire community.

This the Unionist parties have failed to recognise. Their insistence on pre-conditions has made the search for peace unsuccessful. In its own way this has contributed to the difficulties we are now in. Similarly, the Prime Minister, John Major, must reconsider his rejection of the Mitchell Report and his espousal of an elective process. The way in which he broke faith with the Irish government and opted for what is essentially a Unionist demand has added to the uncertainty and the failure to begin serious negotiations.

The task facing both governments is an onerous one. In the Anglo-Irish Agreement the Joint Framework Document and the Joint Declaration, they gave a solemn assurance that jointly they would seek to reach agreement among all the people of Ireland. They must now deliver on that promise. Only they have the power, the authority and the agreed structure to spearhead the type of negotiations which can solve this problem. Working together they can overcome the difficulties. If they cannot or will not, then there is no chance of getting an agreed political settlement.

If they take the lead jointly, as they must, the onus is then on all of the political parties to respond and cooperate with speed and commitment. Those who refuse have no excuse if they choose to be outside of that process of agreement. No one should be allowed to put a check on all-party negotiations and an agreement which would derive from that process.

UK: Loyalists' Standpoint Assessed Following Bombing

MSI202105696 London *FINANCIAL TIMES*
in English 12 Feb 96 p 6

[Report by Stewart Dalby including comments by David Ervine, Progressive Unionist Party member: "Verdict Reserved On Violent Response"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The loyalist paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland are adopting a wait-and-see attitude to the end of the IRA ceasefire but do not discount a resumption of violence.

They want to see if the London Docklands bomb was a single shot across the bows of the British government, provoked by its stand on arms decommissioning and elections to a local assembly, or the start of a protracted campaign.

Mr David Ervine, of the Progressive Unionist party (PUP), which speaks for the Ulster Freedom Fighters, one of the two main loyalist paramilitary groups, said yesterday that he was stunned by the resumption of violence and very angry.

"If this is the start of a new campaign then it could very well be that the loyalist groups would be forced to retaliate," he said. "We do not know for the moment."

Mr Ervine dismissed the idea that the loyalists would only act if the IRA resumed violent activity in Northern Ireland. "I've heard it said that the IRA is going to concentrate on the mainland," he said. "As far as loyalists are concerned we are citizens of the United Kingdom. If there is a strike anywhere in the United Kingdom it is a strike against us."

Mr Ervine added: "I think you can say that the universality of loyalist commitment to the ceasefire is about to be reviewed. The Combined Loyalist Military Command is not due to meet until next Thursday. I would say that is a good sign. What it means is the loyalist groups are going to consider their position in a calm and orderly way."

Mr Gary McMichael, of the Ulster Democratic party, which has links with the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), the other main loyalist paramilitary group, was unavailable for comment yesterday. His party said nothing had been decided yet "and probably won't be until later in the week".

If the loyalists were to resume violence the most likely targets could be in Dublin. When tensions were running high in the province there was a series of bomb attacks in the Irish capital. In 1994 the loyalists claimed responsibility for bomb attacks in Dublin's Connolly station and in the city centre.

Both the PUP and the UDP have very weak electoral support. Mr Michael Ancram, the minister for political affairs in Northern Ireland, said late in 1994, after the loyalists had declared their own ceasefire in October, that the political parties speaking for the paramilitaries had only 1.3 per cent of the vote in council elections. This compared with 10 per cent for Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA. They have one councillor each on two of Northern Ireland's 26 district councils, which have few powers.

In addition, Mr Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, was elected to Westminster as an MP [Member of Parliament], before losing his seat in West Belfast to Mr Joe Hendron of the Social and Democratic Labour party, the moderate nationalist group. Because of their strong links with the paramilitaries, however, the PUP and DUP would be admitted to bilateral talks. Their weak electoral standing meant, however, that they would not have an automatic right to participate in all-party talks.

Mr Ervine has served a jail sentence for the handling of explosives.

The Ulster Freedom Fighters has roots going back to the Ulster Volunteer Force, set up in the early part of the century to fight against home rule for all of Ireland. It is thought to have between 1,000 and 2,000 active members. The UDA is the larger of the paramilitary groups. Its membership is thought to be about 6,000.

UK: SDLP's Attwood on Rejecting War

MS1202104196 London INDEPENDENT in English
12 Feb 96 p 19

[Article by Alex Attwood, Social Democratic Labour Party, SDLP, city councillor for West Belfast, and a member of Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland: "We Will Need To Take Risks For Peace"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Friday: the shock. For weeks I had been told of the peril that faced the peace, that the IRA believed the British government response to the ceasefire was a military one, aimed at demoralizing and dividing republicans. Then, what had seemed inconceivable happened. I heard it first on the TV — a good friend kept distracting me, talking about how the peace could be resurrected, as Jon Snow's words "Canary Wharf" and "bomb" echoed round the room.

Saturday: the aftershock. The despair that a peace process so painfully created could be so recklessly endangered. The anger that the self-determination of the Irish people as to political means could again be so flagrantly disregarded by a self-appointed few. The sense that the end victims of renewed violence might be my constituents and might be republicans and loyalists whom I have grown to admire and whom I consider friends.

Sunday: the reconstruction begins. Based on the compelling judgement that the IRA has fundamentally misread a general frustration with the peace process for a specific demand for a return to war. The common nationalist and republican frustration with the British government and Unionist leaderships confirmed the need not for more war but for more energy, determination and patience.

I am certain republicans in general accept that more war will not bring about, as they see it, more advantage. This was formerly the clinical argument that sustained the IRA. It is not a political argument that is sustainable any longer and this is accepted and acknowledged by most republicans.

Over the next critical days this essential point will have to be made, not in public demonstrations against the IRA but in private conversations and exhortations, filtering back to the republican leadership. This is what happened in the clubs on Saturday night, around the churches

yesterday morning and in the community groups this morning. This essential truth must be conveyed to the IRA leadership.

Last November, President Clinton urged all of us to take risks for peace. Now it is more perilous, difficult and uncertain to do so, but it is more essential that we do. The London Cabinet meeting following the London bombing will have a resolve to stand firm and be seen to stand firm. It will be less possible emotionally, but perhaps more manageable politically, to design and develop a definitive process to inclusive negotiations.

I have some knowledge of the people of the Falls Road, of their immense dignity and defiance, of their sense of struggle and sense of justice. They are good and decent people and that includes republicans, those with whom I have fundamentally disagreed.

I remain convinced that most republicans do not desire or demand a return to war. Clearly, though, there appears to be some who do desire and demand this, in all likelihood those who disagreed with the timing and method of delivery of the 1994 ceasefire. In order to sustain the argument for a totally unarmed strategy against those dissenters it required, above all else, evidence of

a definitive process leading to inclusive negotiations — because republicans understand inclusive negotiations to be the process of Irish self-determination.

As a consequence of the British government's failure to maintain that process, and many failures besides, those republicans who, I believe, neither desire nor demand a return to war have been weakened. Not necessarily irreparably, not necessarily permanently. This is why it is imperative for the Government to design and develop a definitive process leading to inclusive negotiations, consistent with the Downing Street Declaration and the principle of consent. This would not be a response to the London bomb but a response to the greater demand for peace on this island.

In a frenzy, many look for opportunities to sustain the peace. If we step back we will find guidance from Arafat and Rabin, Mandela and De Klerk. Amid massacre and mayhem, bombings and boycotts, they maintained the process of dialogue and mastered the art of negotiation. That is what they have taught us and that is what today they tell us. We need to listen to them closely and take risks for peace. Immediately.

Ireland: Prime Minister Bruton Interviewed on Bombing*LD1102141596 Dublin RTE Radio One Network in English 1309 GMT 11 Feb 96*

[Interview with Irish Prime Minister John Bruton by unidentified correspondent in the RTE studio — live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Correspondent] The Taoiseach, John Bruton, joins us now in the studio. Taoiseach, Gerry Adams issued a very angry statement last night. He says you are retreating into the failed policies of isolation and marginalization. What do you say to that?

[Bruton] No previous Irish government since the foundation of the state has ever talked to an organization that was attempting to negotiate with us while another body associated with that organization was engaged in violence. You can't in a democracy negotiate under a threat of violence or while violence is continuing. However, I want to stress, we have not closed the door of communication to Sinn Fein. Even this very morning a very senior official in my department was talking to a very senior person in Sinn Fein, and he has been told — and Sinn Fein is now being told — that if they wish to convey messages to the Irish Government, views to the Irish Government, there are means available for them to do that. But we are not going to give them the sort of political recognition that we would give to political parties that were exclusively using peaceful methods to advance their program. There really isn't a place in a democracy for using violence to advance any objective as part of the role of a government in a democracy to protect people from violence from whatever quarter, and politically motivated violence is out. [sentence as heard] It is in a different category to ordinary political activity.

[Correspondent] So, in imposing this sanction on Sinn Fein, limited as it may be, are you saying that you believe that Sinn Fein in some ways shares the blame for what happened on Friday?

[Bruton] No. I am saying that Sinn Fein is, as we all know, associated in the Republican movement with the IRA, and the IRA is using violent methods to promote the Sinn Fein program. And I think there is a problem. If any political party associates itself with an organization which is using violence to promote its program, or, that's a clear distinction between that party and all other parties who don't use violence. And governments, and not just this government, the previous government, all governments have said they would not deal with parties on that basis. Equally, as I have said, there has got to be an incentive to people to give up violence, and the incentive is that they will be talked to at the highest

political level if there is no violence. If you give that concession while the violence is continuing you are making a problem with that.

Let me just make, give a practical example. Supposing we were having a meeting with Sinn Fein in Dublin and a bomb went off during the meeting in the Shankhill. What effect would that have on the content of the meeting? What would people say of what we were discussing at the meeting. Would they assume that the bomb was actually being used to influence the result of the meeting. I think there are so many problems involved with negotiating while violence is continuing. That just hasn't been something that any government at this stage has done in the past. But the door is not shut, the door is open to communication. We want to hear from Sinn Fein, and I particularly commend the work even in the last 24 hours that [Social Democratic and Labour Party leader] John Hume has been doing to talk to Sinn Fein, to persuade them that the path of agreement between the people of Ireland is the way forward. And if you are pursuing a path of agreement between the people of Ireland then you don't need to ignite bombs in London.

[Correspondent] Given the fact that Sinn Fein, the leadership at least, seem to have had no foreknowledge of Friday's IRA statement or the bomb, how much influence Sinn Fein can exert now over the IRA?

[Bruton] I think that they are two parts of the one movement, the Republican movement. Obviously they can exert influence, a very substantial influence over the IRA. It's quite obvious that it was the influence of Sinn Fein leaders having had discussions with John Hume and others that persuaded the IRA to give up violence. If they persuaded them to give up violence, I believe that they can do so again, and indeed that they must do so again. And that's why we are willing to hear communications from them. But we can't treat them on the same basis as we would treat other political parties who are not using violence.

[Correspondent tries to interrupt]

[Bruton] I want to stress, sorry

[Correspondent, interrupting] So, you don't believe the nature of the relationship between Sinn Fein and the IRA has changed, given the fact that they weren't informed of this major break?

[Bruton] Well, I think it would probably be best for others to examine exactly what the relationship is. But my understanding is that Sinn Fein and the IRA are part of the same movement, that Sinn Fein candidates are committed essentially to support the armed struggle while the armed struggle is continuing. Therefore, as

political representatives who are supporting an armed struggle they are in a different category to other political representatives. And that is unfortunately the case, but it need not be the case. It is for them — it is open to them to change their decision on that point. And I will really hold to a position that successive governments have held in this regard.

[Correspondent] Can we just make it clear what it is you require at this stage. Will a simple statement from the IRA restoring the cessation suffice or does it have to be more clearly worded than the last one?

[Bruton] A simple statement restoring the cessation and an actual cessation of violence. Not a temporary stopping of violence for a week or something like that. Irish governments, indeed the previous government, made it absolutely clear that a temporary cease-fire would not be sufficient. But an absolute cessation of violence is acceptable, as far as restoring political, full political contact with Sinn Fein is concerned. But in the meantime, in the meantime, we are keeping all other lines of communication open, and as I said there were discussions only this morning on the telephone.

[Correspondent] While the statement of August 1994 referred to a complete cessation of military operations, the government here accepted that as permanent. But it turned out not to be the case. Don't you need more than words?

[Bruton] We made an act of faith. It's very important to make this point. We, all democratic politicians, and I used that precise word myself at the time, we were making an act of faith, that this violence would not return. And on the basis of that act of faith we accepted Sinn Fein into the entire political process as a party that was not associated with...

[Correspondent, interrupting] And you think that faith was breached?

[Bruton] Unfortunately, it was. Yes. Because, while I completely understand the frustration that Sinn Fein has felt and it is a frustration that I have shared, I would like to say something about that in a moment. Violence is not an acceptable method of dealing with one's frustrations. That's the essence of democratic action, that is the essence indeed of the Republic's constitution.

Now, I say, I understand their frustrations. First of all, I say the Republican community has probably suffered more than any other in Northern Ireland from the Troubles and from discrimination prior to that. Secondly, I say the Unionists have been grossly short-sighted in refusing to talk to Sinn Fein during the cessation of violence. They had hard questions certainly that they could have asked of Sinn Fein in regard to

decommissioning of weapons, but they wouldn't even talk to them. That was the most serious error on the part of the Unionists.

Equally, as far as the British are concerned, I believe that the idea of insisting on a gesture of decommissioning was a mistake. It wasn't going to happen and it was plain it wasn't going to happen. And the Mitchell report came up with an alternative way of dealing with the arms issue. Because the arms issue is and always will be a real issue — not to be ignored. But the Mitchell body came up with a formula for dealing with that. And instead of trying to move forward to all-party talks on the basis of that formula worked out with great care, with the agreement of the two governments by Senator Mitchell and his two colleagues, this issue of an election was introduced.

And while I have no objection to elections as such, you can't impose that sort of approach. An election is something that must take place in conditions where people are willing to make compromises. Otherwise, it just becomes a contest of intransigencies, and we were anxious therefore to get people, as the Irish Government was doing, together, in some form, even if not in the same room in the same complex. So that we would begin to create the conditions in which normal politics, including elections, could take place. Unfortunately, that... [pauses] we were beginning to make progress with... [pauses] that approach was not embraced as speedily as it should have been.

But while I can understand and identify the errors and mistakes that have been made in this process, we must never forget that errors of judgment in democratic politics, and there will always be errors by human beings in democratic politics, errors of that kind are on an entirely different moral plane to killing people.

[Correspondent] And given the fact that the IRA has killed people this weekend, won't that make it even more difficult for the British and the Unionists to take this step that you are asking them to take?

[Bruton] Yes, it will. It will, and unfortunately that is the sadness of the whole thing. Violence is completely counterproductive. The IRA cessation of violence took place for many reasons, but one of which I believe was that it was a dead end. That it had been seen to be a dead end; it was leading nowhere. But at the same time I want to say, the Irish Government is absolutely determined now to reinstate the peace process as it was going forward. To put in place with the agreement of all the other parties a mechanism for getting people into immediate dialogue with one another. We want to make sure that the vehicle is ready, so that as soon as the IRA says stop to the violence, that there is a vehicle there to

take the political process forward. It has taken a lot of time and a lot of trouble to get as far as we have got in constructing the beginnings of a consensus around that vehicle. And I believe the proximity-talks idea put forward by Dick Spring does represent the best hope at this time.

[Correspondent, interrupting] What if it turns out...

[Bruton] We want to get back to that.

[Correspondent] What if it turns out that Sinn Féin does do as you say and goes to the IRA, tries to persuade it to renew the cessation and fails? Where does that leave Sinn Féin, where does that leave the rest of us?

[Bruton] I prefer not to contemplate that before... [pauses] I'd say that I believe that everybody who has influence on the Republican movement will and must use it. John Hume, I know, is working very hard already, and the Irish Government is supporting his work to get them to return to the path of peace. There are many people within the Republican movement who want the peaceful strategy only. Who want a totally unarmed strategy, to use their own words. I hope that those people will get the moral support and the encouragement that they need to get the IRA to stop the violence so that the Republican people can have their rightful expression through democratic politics based exclusively on democratic methods and excluding violence.

[Correspondent] Finally, as we wait for the next statement, if there is one, from the IRA, what about a suggestion made this morning by Mary Harney. She says the two governments should convene this week and call all-party talks excluding Sinn Féin?

[Bruton] I think the two governments must meet shortly. They must have a clear strategy. I don't believe that that strategy should include in the short-term an election, because an election will simply pour petrol on the flames. I agree that the governments must act together. But equally I think we must act to create a structure that can include everybody, rather than create something that moves out of the station leaving some of the passengers behind. I think our efforts should be bent on getting the Unionists in particular to agree to a format for discussions that would include or could include everybody who has given up violence, and to say that they are willing to work with such a structure pretty well straight away. That, I think, is where we should be going, rather than starting some process that leaves people out.

[Correspondent] Taoiseach, John Bruton, thank you for joining us.

Ireland: Spring on Prospects for Peace Process

LD/202101396 Dublin RTE Radio One Network
in English 0820 GMT 12 Feb 96

[Telephone interview with Dick Spring, Irish deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by David Hanley — live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Hanley] On the line now is the Tanaiste [deputy prime minister], Dick Spring. Mr Spring, good morning to you.

[Spring] Good morning, David.

[Hanley] Before we go on to the main substance of the events, did you, did the government get any warnings of increased Republican activity by known IRA members?

[Spring] No, David, to the best of my knowledge there was no warning.

[Hanley] Very well. Is the government taking seriously the view that there will be Loyalist reprisals?

[Spring] Yes, I think we have an obligation to take seriously any remarks or any notices we get to that effect, and obviously as of Friday [9 February] evening last the discussions took place between the government and those responsible for security in the republic and all measures will be taken as we feel necessary.

[Hanley] Now, Tanaiste, on the decision not to talk to Gerry Adams in the wake of the bomb. Washington sources are quoted this morning as saying that without Gerry Adams there is no peace process. You yourself I'm sure heard the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour Party] leader John Hume go within a shaving of saying that this had been precipitant. He said: Let me put it to you this way, if you felt you could save one life by talking to somebody would you not talk, and Bertie Ahern likewise. Was the decision to cut out Gerry Adams precipitant? Do you endorse it absolutely?

[Spring] I think if you heard what Bertie Ahern said correctly, Bertie Ahern if he was in government today or yesterday would be saying exactly the same thing as the taoiseach [prime minister] and myself. The fact is that the Irish Government have had meetings at highest level and given Sinn Féin access to government for the last 18 months on practically a daily basis because they were committed to a peace strategy. That commitment was obviously shattered last Friday evening in London and the Irish Government took an action which is consistent with the action of every Irish government that I can recall.

[Hanley] But without Gerry Adams, according to Washington, there is no peace process.

[Spring] Mr. Adams has played an enormous role and indeed others like Marian McGuinness in persuading the IRA to bring about a cease-fire. That didn't come easily; that took a lot of hard work. And for whatever reason some people within the IRA obviously decided to change the strategy last Friday, or indeed some time before that obviously. Now the question is can they be convinced otherwise? Can we get them back on a peace process? Obviously, that's the work for Mr. Adams and Mr. McGuinness.

[Hanley] But how can you get them back without talking to Gerry Adams?

[Spring] There is contact, David, and I think you're aware of that and the taoiseach made that very clear yesterday. Sinn Féin have contact with us. If they have anything they want to inform us, if they can make a contribution to what we're doing they're quite free to do so.

[Hanley] Nevertheless, by isolating him are you not undermining his credibility?

[Spring] David, I think you're being quite ridiculous if I may say so. The Irish Government has no choice other than to make the decision we made over the last number of days because of the bomb that went off in London on Friday.

[Hanley] All right, now on the question of where we are now. Sinn Féin, the IRA is still saying no agreement to consent, no elections, no internal solution. The Unionists on the other hand insist on elections to a peace convention as they call it, they insist on decommissioning and internal solutions. So we are at a total stand-off.

[Spring] And therein lies the conflict of Anglo-Irish relations and the responsibility obviously falls back in the first place to the governments, but also to the parties in Northern Ireland, and out of the conversation that took place last night between the taoiseach and the prime minister and further consultations that will take place over the next few days we have to see as governments if we can get this process back on the tracks. But we're going to need the cooperation of both communities in Northern Ireland if we're going to do so.

[Hanley] Do you expect a further bomb?

[Spring] I have no idea. Obviously we take all the precautions necessary. I could not claim to even imagine the thinking within IRA circles at this stage.

[Hanley] All right, Taoiseach, thank you very much indeed.

[Spring] Thank you

[Hanley] The taoiseach Dick Spring.

Ireland: Spring Urges 'Compromise' by Governments

LD1202091896 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 0859 GMT 12 Feb 96

[By chief political correspondent Amanda Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring today called for both the Irish and British governments to get the Ulster peace process back on track in the wake of the Docklands bombing. He also hinted at the need for a compromise over Britain's demand for elections before talks and Irish plans for talks before elections.

"Both governments must get together and get a package agreeable to both and hopefully agreeable to the nationalist and unionist communities. The importance of any proposal put forward in Northern Ireland is that it must gain the support of both communities."

Mr Spring told BBC Radio 4's Today programme: "I think the proposal for elections is effectively a one-sided proposal, it doesn't have the support of the nationalist community... the governments have to reconcile these differences and we should be looking at a package to do so as quickly as possible."

Northern Ireland Minister Michael Ancram agreed it was important that the two governments work together in pursuit of peace and a political settlement. "What we have absolutely in common is the desire to see all party talks start as soon as possible. We are all looking for ways of starting those all party talks." Mr Ancram told Today that for Sinn Féin to get back in the process there would have to be a restoration of the ceasefire which is both "full and credible."

"Until that happens it won't be possible for British ministers to meet Sinn Féin," he added. And he restated the British view that elections should take place first. He said: "We are looking for doors to move this process forward and we believe access to all party talks is based on the electoral mandate which reflects the will of the people of Northern Ireland."

But former Conservative Northern Ireland Minister Sir Nicholas Scott said he had always had doubts about the wisdom of calling for elections. He told Today: "I have always been extremely sceptical about the problems elections might raise. I think the immediate priority ought to be to get talks going again." Sir Nicholas suggested Senator George Mitchell, who produced the report last month on the de-commissioning of weapons could oversee any talks in an independent role "to try

and get the negotiations back on the road". He was joining other Tory MPs, including Peter Temple-Morris, chairman of the Parliamentary Anglo-Irish group who have voiced concerns over John Major's call for elections.

Ireland: Former Prime Minister on UK Role in Peace Process

MS1202111696 London THE GUARDIAN in English 12 Feb 96 p 15

(Article by Albert Reynolds, former Irish Prime Minister: "Too Little, Too Late")

[FBIS Transcribed Text] When John Major and I started on the peace process over three years ago, most people thought a ceasefire could not be achieved and would not last more than a month or two if it were. The peace process was always fragile, and needed injections of life-blood to keep it moving. It was never going to be easy but everybody had to get involved. If we had done nothing, hundreds more would have died.

In all the dealings I had with the republican leadership and the loyalist paramilitaries they were honourable and kept their word. Now they have a very strong sense of betrayal. Commitments were made in the Downing Street Declaration which were not kept. New preconditions were introduced as delaying tactics. Republican leaders such as Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, who courageously led their community into political involvement should have received more support by true political activity, but did not.

Decommissioning was never a precondition of the Downing Street Declaration and the insistence on it created serious problems. It was made clear from early on that it was unacceptable and unachievable.

The response on prison policy was, if anything, more hardline than before the ceasefire. That began to raise questions about the commitment of the British to the process.

Initially the delays were seen by Sinn Fein and others in the Republic as a way for John Major to get over his domestic problems and to allow unionists time to elect

a new leader. But after that, people expected movement. When it didn't come, the whole process began to run out of steam.

My belief was that everyone should be at the table and everything should be on the table. No one could be forced to stay at the table, and there should have been no preconditions. But the perception now is that John Major has given in totally to unionist demands. The British government appears to have made a foolish miscalculation that the ceasefire had lasted so long there was no question of a return to violence, so it therefore did not have to do anything.

The principles of the Mitchell Commission got to the core of the issue. The recommendations would not have been easy for the republican leadership to accept, but if all else was going well and they had cleared the way to all-party talks they would probably have accepted them. Those principles would also have given the unionist assurances they were justifiably seeking.

In Northern Ireland it is dangerous to come down on one side or the other. You have to be seen to be even-handed. John Major was seen to have sidelined the Mitchell Report in favour of a unionist proposal. From the Irish perspective, it seemed that there was an attempt being made to humiliate people. Strong political leadership is about doing things you don't like doing. And the British government had already spoken to Sinn Fein over a long period in secret without preconditions while bombing continued.

No negotiator has a problem with elections, but I do not see them in the short term as solving the problem. Everyone knows what the results will be. They are not really intended as a way of getting into all-party talks immediately. By the time we get into elections, we would be approaching a general election in Britain anyway.

The two governments must now start putting their relationship back together to restore the trust and credibility which was the strength of the process up to last Friday. Dialogue and debate is the only insurance against a full return to violence.

Spain: Belloch Proposes Suspending Treaty With Belgium

BR0902130196 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish
9 Feb 96 p 16

[Report by Javier Torromegui: "Belloch Suggests Suspending Schengen Treaty With Belgium Unless Extraditions Are Conceded"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Saragossa — Justice and Interior Minister Juan Alberto Belloch will today propose to the Council of Ministers that in its relations with Belgium Spain should suspend the implementation of the Schengen Agreement which calls for the elimination of border checks in the seven EU countries which apply it. Belloch said he supported stepping up the pressure on that country following the refusal by the Belgian Council of State (administrative supreme court) to suspend the extradition of the alleged ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) collaborators, Luis Moreno and Raquel Garcia, as requested by the Spanish National High Court.

In a statement made to the SER network in Aragon, Belloch stressed that the decision to suspend legal cooperation with Belgium is "absolutely justified." He also revealed his discomfort at the attitude of the Belgian Justice Ministry and at the permissiveness with which the alleged ETA members and some sympathizers in their entourage welcomed the release from prison in Brussels. The minister expressed his anger at the fact that no cautionary measures at all were taken against the accused and that they are therefore free.

Sources at the Foreign Ministry said yesterday that the Spanish Government will not ask its European partners to exclude Belgium from the Schengen Agreement (applied by Spain, Belgium, Germany, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Portugal) nor will it renounce — for the time being — the bilateral application of this agreement between Spain and Belgium, a move

that would force, for example, passengers arriving from Belgium to pass through identity checks when they enter Spain.

At the Foreign Ministry it is felt that the suspension of the Schengen Agreement would in practice be done only if within a period of six months the Belgian Council of State confirmed its decision not to extradite the two ETA members.

On Monday the justice and interior minister announced in Rahat the suspension of legal cooperation with Belgium, and yesterday the extradition from Spain of Willy Goossens — the father of soccer player Dirk Goossens — who is jailed in the El Santo del Negro prison on Gran Canaria, was halted. The decision was made by the National High Court and, according to various sources, this is apparently not at all related to Belloch's retaliation against Belgium.

Proposal by Aizua

In Saragossa yesterday Belloch attended the first day of the conference on urban crime and the police in Europe, organized as part of EU cooperation in the fight against crime. On the subject of the proposal made by Basque Autonomous Government Interior Minister Juan Maria Aizua, to "do something" about the ETA satellite organizations, Belloch said that it was preferable to take action within the framework of the penal code rather than administrative action.

"Criminalization could be overcome immediately. If something is done simply to make them change their name then they would soon reappear under a different name." The minister alluded to the provisions of the penal code in the field of criminal associations, "which is what they are," he said. In addition, he said that police action was important in obtaining evidence that should make it possible for the judges to take action in this area.

Cyprus: Government Will Not Reject U.S. Initiative
NC1002195596 Nicosia O FILELEVTHEROS
in Greek 10 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by correspondent Andreas Khatzikiriakos from Athens]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nicosia and Athens believe that despite the cancellation of Richard Holbrooke's visit to the area and French interest in the Cyprus issue, the United States still remains the factor that will dominate mediation efforts on the issue. Given this common evaluation, President Glavkos Kliridhis and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Simitis, during their meeting on 8 February agreed on a specific plan for handling the expected developments from Washington.

According to O FILELEVTHEROS information, during the meeting at Maximos Palace, President Kliridhis explained to the Greek Government the positions of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides concerning the Cyprus issue's basic elements. He detailed the UN position on the same issues (as this arises from the two communities set of ideas) and expressed his evaluation concerning the U.S. approach. According to our sources, the Greek side expects that Washington will support Kliridhis positions on the establishment of a multinational force in Cyprus and expansion of guarantees, as well as accession to the EU. It is believed, however, that the United States supports [Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf] Denktas' position on sovereignty. That means it favors an undivided federal sovereignty that will represent Cyprus internationally. But, at the same time, it endorses the rest of the authority remaining in the cantons.

Greece and Cyprus agree that the U.S. initiative will be expressed as soon as a government is formed in Ankara. However, they do not exclude the possibility that Holbrooke's replacement, John Cornblue, will visit the area on the occasion of undertaking his new duties, accompanied by Presidential envoy Richard Beattie, before things are clear in Turkey.

During Thursday's meeting it was decided that "we will not say no to the U.S. initiative," O FILELEVTHEROS was told by a well informed source, "but we will attempt to bring the initiative as near as possible to the defined parameters." These parameters define our side's position concerning what is considered as an acceptable solution and what is not. According to our information, after the Greek and Cypriot Foreign Ministries conclude the preparation of these parameters, they will reportedly draw up a document binding the two sides. Judgments in the Greek capital are that during this period Turkey enjoys better treatment by the

west, something considered as negative for efforts on a Cyprus solution. According to the same evaluations, Greece and Cyprus agree that now is not the most appropriate time for a Cyprus solution, but at the same time they appear decided not to bear the cost of an expected failed mediation.

Viewing the statement by Greek Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos, Greece has not turned from the United States toward Europe. A well-informed source explained that "what is considered as a great advantage in an effort for a Cyprus solution is the U.S. initiative. However, the Greek side would feel much better if the EU was to play a more essential role."

Cyprus: Spokesman on Unified Defense Area Doctrine

NC1202125196 Nicosia Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in Greek
1130 GMT 12 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Government spokesman Ioannis Kasoulidhis said: The government has not recently been aware of outside intervention regarding the unified defense area doctrine. His comments followed yesterday's remarks by Greek National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis that outside pressure aimed at doing away with the doctrine. Kasoulidhis assessed that Mr. Arsenis was referring to earlier pressure on the Greek Government over this issue. Kasoulidhis added: Our position is well known, has been declared, and was reaffirmed at the Athens meeting where the Greek prime minister stated that the doctrine is a vital element in our course.

The spokesman further noted that, at the meeting between President Glavkos Kliridhis and Mr. Arsenis, there was no question of whether the doctrine should continue. Instead, the leaders dealt with the details of its further implementation. Mr. Kasoulidhis pointed out: The Cyprus Government will certainly be informed of any new interference through constant and standard communication with the Greek Government.

Replying to Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Simitis' comments on reconsideration of the doctrine, Mr. Kasoulidhis said if new developments emerged concerning the doctrine's course, such as the reinforcement of occupation troops with tanks, then the plans would need to be reconsidered in addressing this problem as well.

Cyprus: Denktas on Holbrooke's Visit, Problems

NC1202130096 Istanbul ZAMAN in Turkish
8 Feb 96 p 4

[Interview with Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktas by ZAMAN Director General Huseyin Gulerce, Chief

Editor Fehmi Kuru, and correspondent Teoman Turan in Nicosia; date not given)

[FBIS Translated Text] Nicosia — [ZAMAN] Can you comment on Richard Holbrooke's interest in the Cyprus problem and the preparations you have made for your talks with him, regardless of the fact that his visit has been postponed?

[Denktas] We have positively assessed Richard Holbrooke's visit. It would be useful for such an official to study the Cyprus problem, hear the views of the two sides, and see Cyprus for himself. At least, he would be able to see that the Greek Cypriots want to place the entire island under their control. That would help him establish why solving the problem is difficult. Greek Cypriot leader Glavkos Kliridhis has rejected our political equality and right to sovereignty, which we have safeguarded with our lives. He has also rejected the principle of bizonality and Turkey's guarantee. In fact, he has tried to weaken these principles.

The Greek Cypriot objective is to remove Turkey's historic rights on Cyprus, including the rights the 1960 agreements have given to Turkey. Something has changed since 1963. Drawing strength from the recognition it has been given by the United States, Britain, and Europe as the legitimate government of the entire island, the republic's Cypriot partner wants to join the EU. This partner is convinced that the Cyprus problem will be solved in its favor if it joins the EU.

We have to foil its design. The only way to do that is to clearly outline that the Turkish Cypriots will move to integrate with Turkey if the Greek Cypriots are allowed to join the EU. What Holbrooke will see in Cyprus when he visits the island will be close to what Glavkos Kliridhis' statement outlined in the newspapers today. He said: The EU will be the island's guarantor when accession is realized. Consequently, we will not fear Turkey at all.

We are well-aware of what this means. How would the Greek Cypriots treat the Turkish Cypriots if they do not fear Turkey? We are well-aware of how they will treat us because we have already had the experience. They will treat us exactly the same way they treated us in the past.

[ZAMAN] Greek Cypriot leader Glavkos Kliridhis has said that he is ready to hold talks on sovereignty. Can you comment?

[Denktas] That is what he has said, however, holding talks and accepting the principle are two different things. Talks can be held, but he may disagree in the end. We can hold talks with him on Cyprus' accession to the EU, however, we will reject the matter if he objects to our

right to sovereignty. We cannot reach any conclusion with a party that objects to our right to sovereignty. Nor can we reach any conclusion or agreement with a party that objects to Turkey's guarantee. We hope that Holbrooke will recognize these facts and avoid making a mistake.

Cyprus and the Customs Union

[ZAMAN] Motherland Party leader Mesut Yilmaz and True Path Party leader Tansu Ciller have argued about whether or not Cyprus has been sold out? Has that made you uneasy?

[Denktas] We have followed the Cyprus problem very closely. We have established that Cyprus has not been sold out, however, we have also established that the agreement Turkey has made on a customs union will create problems in our relations. We have held talks on the matter. We have been reassured that we will not find ourselves in a difficult situation. We have been reassured that our situation will be better, so I am not worried. The members of the government are elected by the people, so they cannot ignore the people and sell out Cyprus. It is out of the question.

[ZAMAN] Will the customs union weaken Turkey's rights as a guarantor power?

[Denktas] The customs union is a kind of trade agreement. The question of guarantees is a political issue. It is an agreement that concerns Turkey's security and, so the agreement cannot be changed without Turkey's consent.

[ZAMAN] What if the Greek Cypriots join the EU?

[Denktas] A dangerous situation will emerge if they do. We will have to solve the problem by moving to join Turkey.

[ZAMAN] Do you mean to say that TRNC's [Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus] integration with Turkey is the only way to solve the problem?

[Denktas] It is the only alternative.

[ZAMAN] Can you describe the nature of the integration you have in mind?

[Denktas] It will depend on the conditions existing at the time. Our integration with Turkey will be similar to the Greek Cypriot side's integration with the EU.

Kardak and Cyprus

[ZAMAN] How do you assess the Kardak crisis?

[Denktas] I believe that the Greek Cypriots have drawn up a plan to stir up the world against Turkey. It is what

they have prepared for, but the incident in the Aegean Sea has delayed their plan. They could have caused a similar incident after the Greek Cypriots joined the EU or established closer relations with it. I believe they plan to usurp Cyprus with the EU's support, however, the Kardak crisis has made them realize that achieving their objective will not be easy. Their plans are very dangerous. They will suffer significantly if they attempt to achieve their objective. Thus, as far as we are concerned, the crisis has been very useful.

The UN Organization Has Given Up

[ZAMAN] Russian and Italian officials have visited Cyprus.

[Denktas] Yes, they have visited the island. In fact, the entire world has begun to interfere. It is strange that the Italian, British, French, and Russian officials do not want the United States to be the only country involved in the problem. The UN secretary general has urged them to take action to solve the problem. It is very interesting that the UN Organization has retreated to the background. The UN secretary general has urged the other countries to get involved... Glavkos Kliridhis disclosed that the EU secretary general [as published] has involved the EU in the problem. How can he do that without asking us? Well, he has done so.

[ZAMAN] The EU has appointed a representative.

[Denktas] Italy, Greece, and the Greek Cypriots wanted the appointment of an EU coordinator. We objected and informed Italy that we do not want a coordinator to be appointed, but they have done so anyway. It may be a formula to satisfy the two sides.

[ZAMAN] Will the involvement of many parties contribute to a solution to the problem?

[Denktas] It will further complicate the matter.

[ZAMAN] Can the United States convince the other parties to withdraw? Is that possible?

[Denktas] I do not know. The United States itself may be involved in the plans, so it could further complicate the matter. It could also defer the issue to the others and then withdraw.

Why Has the Cyprus Problem Not Been Resolved?

[ZAMAN] More than 20 years have passed since the Turkish peace operation took place in Cyprus. Why has the Cyprus problem not been solved? What is the main reason?

[Denktas] The main reason is the recognition of the Greek Cypriot side by the United States, Britain, and the UN Security Council as the legitimate government in Cyprus. The chances of a reconciliation to solve the problem will disappear if they maintain this approach. They have informed us as follows: "Do you want us to tell the world that we made a mistake 32 years ago by recognizing the Greek Cypriot side as the legitimate government? We cannot do that."

We have informed them that we do not want them to admit their mistake, but that we expect them to, at least, realize their mistake and change their approach. We expect them to be fair and treat us the way they treat the Greek Cypriots. We are an honorable people. We expect them not to continuously harm our dignity. We have told them that they have agreed that the Greek Cypriot Administration is also the government of the Turkish Cypriots and that we should accept this state of affairs. They have adopted this approach without having any legal right to do so. It is out of the question, and, in fact, it is wrong. This state of affairs must be changed.

Greece: Arsenis Asks Simitis 'To Clarify' Agreement

NC1102201296 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1900 GMT 11 Feb 96

[Report by correspondent Roulla Kampouryianni on second day of PASOK Central Committee conference at the Caravel Hotel in Athens—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Kampouryianni] Good evening. The atmosphere here was dangerously tense today. Frictions reached the level that Central Committee Secretary Konstandinos Skandhalidhis said that maybe for the first time in PASOK's [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] history there is an atmosphere of division and splitting. The problem has been created by strong disagreements on when the party's seminar will take place, that is, if the seminar will occur in June—as proposed by the Executive Bureau—or, at the end of the year as proposed by many cadres, or in 1997. [passage omitted]

We also have the issue created by National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis' speech. The atmosphere became even more tense when Arsenis asked Prime Minister Konstandinos Simitis to make a statement clarifying what exactly is provided for in the disengagement agreement. Of course Arsenis stressed that he himself believes, is sure, that the disengagement agreement does not include any commitment by us not to extend our territorial waters to 12 nautical miles, or to lower our flag in Imia.

[Unidentified announcer] That means that Arsenis hinted that he does not know personally exactly what was agreed to? That is what he hinted?

[Kampouryianni] Not exactly. Arsenis said that he himself believes that we have not undertaken any commitment. But because there is dispute and because certain Central Committee members—Mr. Ikonomou, for example, as we will see next—raised the issue of what exactly is included in the disengagement agreement, Arsenis said that the prime minister should make a statement to clarify the atmosphere. [passage omitted]

It is important to note that Arsenis said that he believes that there is no agreement not to extend our territorial waters or to lower the flag in Imia. He added that the government's decision on disengagement was completely correct. He also said that everybody must support the government, because according to the prime minister problems are before us. He said the Turks have raised another chapter in the Aegean and they will not limit themselves to the diplomatic course. [passage omitted]

Greece: Spokesman Replies to Arsenis' Speech

NC1102205796 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1900 GMT 11 Feb 96

[Report by correspondent Roulla Kampouryianni—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is a written statement by Dhimitrios Reppas, press and mass media minister and government spokesman, on the controversy arising from National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis' speech. Many people believe that this statement by the government spokesman criticizes the national defense minister. I will read the statement: It is unacceptable that rumors coming from centers outside Greece be propagated by anyone within the country. Only one agreement was achieved with the Clinton government, says the government spokesman: The agreement on the armed forces' removal from the two Imia rocky islets and nothing else. The government, stressed Mr. Reppas, exerts a clear national foreign policy without compromises and behind the scenes agreements. And nobody, he stresses, can dispute this truth.

Greece: Arsenis Says Turkish Maneuvers Not Dangerous

NC1202075096 Athens Elliniki Radiofonos Radio Network in Greek 0500 GMT 12 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkish air and naval maneuvers with live ammunition begin in Aegean international waters today. The exercise is codenamed Cevik Bes [Rapid 5] and will last approximately one week. The exercise is scheduled; its timing is not related with the recent Greek-Turkish tension, as National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis said. Correspondent Alkis Mallidhis has the following report:

[Begin recording] [Mallidhis] The large-scale Turkish air and naval maneuvers codenamed Cevik Bes begin in the Aegean today. The exercise will be carried out with live ammunition and will last three days. Turkish Navy ships will sail from the Navy bases of Aksar and Izmir and be deployed northwest of Lesbos, west of Khios, and east of Rhodes. The exercise is scheduled. The Greek Armed Forces leadership were informed of it. Consequently, it is not related with the recent Greek-Turkish crisis. But Greek Navy ships will be discreetly watching the Turkish fleet's moves while Greek Air Force units will be on increased alert.

[Unidentified correspondent] National Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis made the following statement on the maneuvers:

[Arsenis] As you know, exercises of this kind are held from time to time. Turkey informed us of this exercise some time ago; we also issued the relevant order for

permission. These maneuvers are usually carried out with live ammunition, the same way we hold exercises with live ammunition. The maneuvers themselves are not fraught with danger.

[Mallidhis] The Chiefs of Staff Council met at the National Defense Ministry and reportedly discussed

averting a possible Turkish provocation or even a hot incident. Both Athens and Brussels have categorically denied reports coming from U.S. sources about a hot incident in the northern Aegean. (end recording)

Turkey: Ciller Office Clarifies Crisis Talks With U.S.

TA1002193496 Ankara TRT Television Network
in Turkish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been announced that during the telephone conversations Prime Minister Tansu Ciller conducted with U.S. officials on 31 January on the occasion of the Kardak crisis, she did not make any statement on applying to the International Court of Justice. A statement issued by the Prime Minister's Press Center denied reports published in a newspaper with regard to the government's attitude on the Kardak issue.

The statement says: During her telephone conversations with U.S. officials on the night of 31 January on the occasion of the Kardak crisis, our honorable prime minister expressed the view that the fait accompli must end immediately and that a solution must be sought to the problem through negotiations. The prime minister did not make any statement on applying to the International Court of Justice. Furthermore, the allegations that there are differences of opinion within the government on how to solve the problem are false. As it happens, in an interview aired on a private television channel on 6 February, our honorable prime minister stressed that this problem must be resolved by means of negotiations.

Turkey: EU Statement on Greek-Turkish Ties 'Unacceptable'

TA1002133696 Ankara TRT Television Network
in Turkish 1100 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkey has described the recent statement issued by the EU Commission on Turkish-Greek relations as an unfortunate attitude which cannot positively contribute to the solution of bilateral relations.

In reply to a question, Foreign Ministry spokesman Omer Akbel said that Turkey resents the fact in its statement, which was issued by pushing the limits of its authority, the EU Commission expressed solidarity with Greece. Akbel remarked that this statement was formulated on the basis of the fact that one of the sides is an EU member, without seriously analyzing the situation. Such an attitude is unacceptable and does not comply with the criteria of fairness, Akbel added.

The spokesman recalled that in its argument posited on 29 January 1976 with regard to Greece's full membership in the EU, the EU Commission had stated that the EU is not a party to Turkish-Greek disputes and will not be a party to such conflicts in the future. In its recent statement on Turkish-Greek relations, the EU Commission used expressions that unjustly support Greece.

Turkey: Sivas Governor Denies Human Rights Violations

TA1002143896 Ankara TRT Television Network
in Turkish 1800 GMT 9 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sivas Governor Aydin Guclu has said that the security forces' operations in the area are against the terrorists exclusively and are conducted within the principles of the law.

At a news conference in Ankara, Guclu pointed out that certain circles recently submitted a report to the Interior Ministry containing unfounded allegations concerning the operations of the security forces in the region. He stressed that the villages of Hidirlik and Disbudak in Divrigi District, which the report claims were evacuated by the security forces, were abandoned five years ago when the villagers emigrated for economic reasons. He said that the only village in the region evacuated because of terrorism was the Zara District village of Selimiye, which was raided by the PKK (Workers Party of Kurdistan) terrorist organization in 1994.

According to Guclu, citizens are provided with free health services during the operations. Furthermore, he said, even though this is not part of the working program, some 133 km of village roads have been paved.

Guclu also said that so far, none of the citizens have submitted a written or oral complaint to the relevant authorities about the operations. Despite that, he said, and even though the security forces are conducting successful operations, allegations aiming to undermine the security forces are appearing in the press and the electronic media.

Turkey: ANAP's Akyol Comments on Erbakan Remarks

TA1002202796 Ankara TRT Television Network
in Turkish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Motherland Party (ANAP) deputy leader Avni Akyol has declared that, given the recent statements and behavior of Welfare Party (RP) leader Necmettin Erbakan, it is impossible for his party to approach a coalition with the RP positively.

In a news conference at Istanbul's Ataturk Airport, Akyol stated that Erbakan has been displaying different attitudes in recent days and that there has been an increase in his contradictory statements and behavior. Akyol criticized Erbakan's remarks about a painful revolution and his attitude praising the Iranian revolution, as well as his presentation of the Islamic dinar during a

Ramadan dinner for the ambassadors of Islamic countries. Such behavior and such an attitude will block the way to conciliation, Akyol declared.

[Begin Akyol recording] Given the attitude displayed by Mr. Erbakan over the past few days, it is impossible for ANAP assembly group members to be keen on this subject. In the wake of the 24 December elections, Mr. Erbakan was very conciliatory until recently. Wasn't he positive on every issue? If you look at your records, you will see that he was very moderate, very positive, and very mild. During this past week, however, we observed that this moderate Erbakan has been replaced by the Erbakan known prior to the 24 December elections. [end recording]

Pointing out that after these developments, there is no significance to a meeting with the RP on the establishment of a government, Akyol said: Our positive approach was before the Mercumek issue [reference to RP-affiliated person convicted of embezzling money donated to the Bosnia-Herzegovina aid fund].

In her statements in Adana's Ceyhan and Osmaniye Districts, ANAP deputy leader Imren Aykut pledged that her party will continue to make every self-sacrifice

for the establishment of a government. There are many problems awaiting solution in the country, Aykut recounted, adding, therefore, that the government must be established as soon as possible. Explaining that the proposals submitted to the True Path Party were rejected for the sole reason that they do not envisage Tansu Ciller's premiership, Aykut noted that the statements issued by RP administrators in recent days have created the impression that it will be impossible to reach conciliation with this party.

According to TRT correspondent Ali Yakisikli, Aykut expressed the belief that the government will be established without new elections despite all these negative developments.

[Begin Aykut recording] I hope that common sense will prevail, that people will renounce their obstinate stands and their greed, and that a government will be established before the 40 days are over. Conciliation is a requirement of democracy. We must know how to reach conciliation and how to make sacrifices. This is not a personal issue; it is an issue of the nation and the country. [end recording]

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